Will The Newspaper Guild Undercut the First and Fifth Amendments? See Page 4

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. III, No. 36 OCTOBER 3, 1955 WASHINGTON, D. C. 15 CENTS

The President's Illness A Blow to Peace

The President's illness is a world calamity. Dwight Eisenhower occupied a most peculiar role in American politics. Through him, exploiting his fame as a soldier and his personal charm, the Eastern seaboard moneyed interests who direct the Republican party achieved a number of purposes. They attracted enough of the independent vote to win the 1952 elections from the Democrats, who have since 1932 been the majority party. They put into effect a program which accepted the main accomplishments of New Deal and Fair Deal but sought to establish a climate favorable to big business, notably in the control of basic resources and of fiscal policy. Above all, in the search for a sound dollar, a balanced budget and tax reduction, they moved to end the Korean conflict, to liquidate the cold war, to recognize the world atomic stalemate, and to cut down swollen military expenditures. Only through the foremost American General of our generation could they put some curb on the Pentagon, and only through a General speaking for a conservative party could they begin to negotiate with Moscow and Peking without being accused—in the overheated atmosphere of an America driven slightly wacky since 1947—of "appeasement," or treachery.

A Soldier's Gifts

To this pattern of political manipulation, Mr. Eisenhower contributed little, but that little was decisive. He came to the White House uninformed, politically naive, and almost childishly trusting in the men of wealth who groomed him for the Presidency. But he also brought with him certain intangible but crucial assets. A life-time soldier, he was no militarist. The leader of a victorious coalition in the greatest war of history, he was genuinely a man of peace. His own high rank and long military experience made it impossible for the Pentagon brass to overawe him; he handled them as no big business man or corporation lawyer could. He had a very modest view of his own capacities but his own swift rise in the Army and success in the war had given him a justifiable confidence in his one great gift—a gift of getting along with people, of solving and smoothing over organizational problems. Hence his faith that he could sit down and talk with the Russian leaders and begin to move toward agreement. Though this faith reflected an oversimplified view of power politics, it supplied a vital missing ingredient, a readiness to confer, a willingness to assume there were human beings with human problems on the other side, too. For the first time since FDR died we had a leadership which was not afraid to negotiate. People at home and abroad sensed this basic good will and hopefulness in Dwight Eisenhower, and trusted him for it; this is why the heart attack brought such world-wide instinctive dismay.

We share this feeling and join in the universal wish for the President's speedy recovery. But no one sees the possibility of a miracle great enough to enable Mr. Eisenhower to bear the burdens of a presidential campaign and another term. And this is serious. We are proud of the fact that as early as June 13, 1953, in an editorial "Challenging the Left: 'Back Ike For Peace,'" we were the first voice left of center to recognize the President's historic role. Now, as two years ago, the balance of forces for peace is still a precarious one. It was through Eisenhower that the big business men in the Cabinet like Humphrey and Wilson have been able to put some brake on the arms race. Sherman Adams and Stassen and Humphrey will have much less of a check on Dulles and Radford with Eisenhower out of the picture in the next few months. The problem of untangling our relations with the Soviet bloc has hardly begun; the difficult knots remain to be untied. Four more years of Eisenhower, with a Democratic Congress, in which Senator George could have gone on playing his wise and healing role, were badly needed. Now, there is no substitute in sight, except in the unlikely event that Chief Justice Warren could be prevailed upon to take the Republican nomination.

Painful Awakenings

At this juncture, the Democratic party, and particularly its liberals and laborites, cannot be relied upon. The two historic events of the past two years—the defeat of McCarthy in 1954 and the deflation of the China Lobby in 1955—were the achievement of bipartisan coalitions under conservative leadership. Only a continuance of such leadership can make possible the adjustments American society must make if peace is firmly to be established and world atomic suicide avoided. We are going to have to recognize Communist China and we are going to have to recognize that the only alternative to a dangerously divided Germany—with both sides arming for what could flare up into a greater Korea—is to permit its neutralization outside NATO in return for unification and free elections. These concessions to reality will be painful because our people have been fed on pipe-dreams and paranoid nightmares. The liberals, their spirits rubbed raw by accusations of communism, are much less ready to recognize these realities than are the conservatives and the big business men. Those forces which may not want war but certainly make peace more difficult to obtain —the dominant portions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the A. F. of L.—are much more powerful in the Democratic than in the Republican party. The aviation lobby, which fattens on war alarums, depends on leading Democrats. They and their labor allies like the arms race as a means of maintaining employment. Consequently they find it comfortable to believe that if only we arm heavily enough the Kremlin will surrender. Even Stevenson has been sour about Geneva. Despite Senator George, the Democrats are still a cold war party and the prospect of their return to power at this time is appalling.

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The American Negro Needs A Gandhi In The Fight Against Racial Degradation

The South Is Sick — That Is The Meaning of The Till Murder

Next to the President's collapse, the worst news of the week was from Mississippi. The jury at Sumner brought in two verdicts, not one. The immediate and visible decision was that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant were not guilty of killing a 14-year-old colored boy. The other, unspoken, unintended, unconscious but indelible was a verdict of guilty against all the rest of us and our country.

There are scenes at the murder trial which imprint themselves unforgettably: The Negro reporters, as they walked into court one day after lunch, being haled by the Sheriff with "Hello, Niggers." Mrs. Bradley, the mother of the victim, testifying that she told her son before he left for the South, "to be very careful how he spoke and to say 'yes, sir' and 'no, ma'am' and not to hesitate to humble yourself if you had to get down on your knees." Moses Wright—we salute his courage—testifying that when J. W. Milam came to get his 14-year-old nephew Emmett Till, he asked "You from Chicago?" and when the boy answered "yes" Milam said "Don't you say yes to me or I'll knock hell out of you." Mrs. Bryant's sexy whopper (which Judge Swango to his credit kept from the jury) that this 14-year-old boy with a speech defect had grabbed her round the waist, solicited her with an unprintable expression and boasted "I've been with white women before." J. A. Shaw, Jr., the foreman of the jury, asked by the press what the jury thought of Mrs. Bradley's testimony replying, "if she tried a little harder, she might have got out a tear."

No Sympathy for A Mother

Emmett Till's broken body, with the bullet hole in the right temple and the gaping hole in the back of the head, as if broken in by a rock, testified to a maniacal murder. Those who killed him were sick men, sick with race hatred. The murder and the trial could only have happened in a sick countryside. Where else would a mother be treated with such elementary lack of respect or compassion? Where else would the defense dare put forward the idea that the murder was somehow "framed" by the NAACP? Where else would newspapers somehow make it appear that those at fault were not the men who killed the boy but those who tried to bring the killers to justice? There is a sickness in the South. Unless cured, there may some day spring from it crimes as evil and immense as the crematoria of Hitlerism.

If Milam and Bryant did not kill Till, then who did? Nobody in the South asks the question, at least publicly. Who was the third man with them? Where are the two missing witnesses? Nobody cares. Mississippi went through the motions, and the motions were enough to muffle the weak conscience of the northern white press. The judge was honorable; the special prosecutor tried hard; who can quarrel with a jury verdict? But the jury was all white, in an area two-thirds Negro. And of what use was an upright judge and a special prosecutor when the case was rushed to trial without adequate preparation or investigation? This was only the final scene of a lynching, hastily covered with a thin veil of respectability by a shrewd Governor. The same Governor, Hugh White, as chairman of the Legal Education Advisory Committee, has just put forward a 6-point program to fight desegregation which calls for abolition of compulsory public schooling and legislation to "prohibit interference with state law under cover of federal authority." Hugh White is himself the leader of Mississippi's racists and nullificationists.

Before the war and the witch hunt, where there were still organizations like the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, there would have been public meetings of protest under mixed auspices. It shames our country and it shames white Americans that the only meetings, in Harlem, Baltimore, Chicago and Detroit, have been Negro meetings. Those whites in the South and in the North who would normally have been moved to act have been hounded out of public life and into inactivity. To the outside world it must look as if the conscience of white America has been silenced, and the appearance is not too deceiving. Basically all of us whites, North and South, acquiesce in white supremacy, and benefit from the pool of cheap labor created by it.

Will the Negro take this latest outrage? Unless Negroes rouse themselves to make their indignation felt in some dramatic way, nothing will be done in Mississippi or in Congress. A. Philip Randolph last Sunday suggested a march on Washington like that which dramatized the FEPC fight before Pearl Harbor. Were thousands of Negroes to converge on the Department of Justice and demand action against the murderers of Till, and of the other Negroes whose recent murders have gone unpunished in the South, such a demonstration would have an impact. The American Negro needs a Gandhi to lead him, and we need the American Negro to lead us. If he does not provide leadership against the sickness in the South, the time will come when we will all pay a terrible price for allowing a psychopathic racist brutality to flourish unchecked.

The Color Blind FBI

"It's getting to be a strange thing that the FBI can never seem to work out who is responsible for killings of Negroes in the South. We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

—Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mississippi Negro leader, reporting on the Lee, Smith and Till murders at an NAACP meeting in Baltimore, Sept. 25.

How Mississippi Whites Terrorize Negroes Who Dare Ask De-Segregation

"I submit to the committee as a part of this statement a photostatic copy of a full-page advertisement in the Yazoo City, Miss., Herald of Aug. 25, inserted by the White Citizens Council of the city, containing the names and addresses of every person who signed a petition to the school board asking desegregation.

"Of the 54 citizens who signed, it is estimated that as of today all but six have asked that their names be removed. Many of the 48 were fired from their jobs; others were subjected to threats of a nature which caused them to recant. One man, a plumbing contractor, not only lost a contract, but was refused materials from a plumbing house, and was told by his grocer that a loaf of bread would cost him one dollar! . . .

"Last May 7 the Rev. G. W. Lee, the first Negro registered voter in Humphreys County, Miss., was killed by a shogut blast as he drove his car down a street in that town. ..The sheriff cynically suggested that the shotgun pellets in his jaw and neck could have been lead filings in his teeth. On August 13, Lamar Smith, another registered voter, was shot down in broad daylight on the courthouse lawn in Brookhaven, Miss., the home town of a judge who has gone about the country urging impeachment of the U.S. Supreme Court.

"In Mississippi the guarantees of the Constitution mean what the local sheriff or newspaper, or leading town businessman, or plantation owner wants them to mean. Their interpretations of the Bill of Rights are enforced with the pistol, the shotgun, the blackjack and lately, through the state-wide Citizens Councils, with economic sanctions that deprive citizens of employment, credit and homes.

—Roy Wilkins, exec. secretary of the NAACP, before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, Sept. 17.

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Some Myths and Realities in the Field of Foreign Policy

The Old Sales Rivalry in the Middle Eastern Arms Bazaar

Mid-East Mixup: The sale of arms by a great power to a small is a form of control. The buyer is dependent on the seller for replacements, parts and ammunition. Britain has been waging an undercover struggle to keep Egypt within the Imperial sphere of influence by preventing other powers from selling her arms. Several months ago London dissuaded the French from selling Egypt artillery. Last week London was upset by a calculated leak from the State Department to the Associated Press, planned to prepare the public mind for U. S. arms sales to Egypt on the excuse that the latter was about to buy arms from Moscow. Britain saw this as a U. S. take-over of Egypt; Israel as indication that the recent Dulles proposal for a Mid-Eastern peace, development and resettlement program was a fraud, since it appeared that the State Department had been negotiating to sell arms to Egypt without making such arms conditional on a peace agreement. London stopped any arms deal with a protest to Washington and next day Egypt announced that it was accepting a Czech offer to barter arms for cotton and rice. Moscow had assured Israel a week before that no sale of arms to Egypt was contemplated, and in the absence of confirmation from Prague there was some disposition to believe that the Egyptians were still bluffing. Whatever the truth, this complex bazaar intrigue shows there will never be peace in the Middle East until the area is removed—millenial hope!—from great power rivalry.

New Myths in the Making: After World War II, Soviet progress in armament and aviation design was attributed to captured Germans. Later Soviet success in making an atomic bomb was attributed to successful "stealing" of the secret. New myths may be seen in the making in the wake of the Burgess-Maclean affair. *U. S. News and World Report*, which published the Petrov story in its issue of September 23, attributes to the missing British diplomats (1) a supposed improvement in the quality of Moscow's foreign language paper, *New Times*, (2) the "brilliant new shift in Soviet diplomacy and (3) Chinese intervention in the Korean war. "People close to General MacArthur," according to *U. S. News*, are sure that the Chinese only intervened because these British diplomats "tipped them off" that we would not attack across the Yalu. These myths pander to the comfortable and flattering view that the Soviet regimes are hopelessly inferior affairs, whose successes can only be due to defecting foreigners or espionage.

Traffic Cops in Peking

"Policemen in Communist countries are notoriously brutal, callous, sinister, and overbearing. There are doubtless many such in Peking. They do not allow those to direct the traffic. Only once or twice was I ever in a car that was involved in a difference of opinion with the police—passing a tramcar on the wrong side or some violation of the traffic rules so flagrant that it could not be overlooked. The policeman would then approach the car, and the dialogue would follow roughly this course:

"'It seemed to me that you were impetuous, Comrade.'

"'It is possible, Comrade.'

"'Perhaps I should not have mentioned this?'

"'No, by all means, Comrade; you have your duty to do.'

"'It causes no offense if I suggest you were driving in a disgracefully careless way?'

"'In the circumstances, no, Comrade. I freely offer you the right to say this.'

"'Very well! I have said it. I shall return to my post?'

"'Certainly, Comrade. Let us both return to work.'"

—*Inside Red China, by James Cameron, The Atlantic Monthly, Sept. 1955.*

Change on Germany?

The return to Washington last week of Gen. Alfred Gruenther, NATO commander in Europe, is linked with serious discussions here of alternative policies on Germany. A deal to reunite the Reich outside NATO is not as unthinkable as the State Department pretends. In this connection it is worth recalling the report on Western Europe published August 14 last by the Washington Post's editorial page editor, Robert H. Estabrook, on his return from a five-week tour. Estabrook quoted an unnamed American general in Europe as telling him, "NATO is a means, not an end in itself. We must always be looking ahead and thinking of what we are trying to accomplish. Of course, we must think of alternatives (to German membership in NATO). The main point is to be sure that we get something in return by way of self-enforcing guarantees." Only Gruenther himself would have talked with such assurance on so delicate a matter.

Morality and Military Bases: It is interesting to match the State Department's conduct in the Cyprus affair against the moralistic sterotypes of its foreign policy. It is for free elections everywhere, except in Cyprus where 80 percent of the people are Greeks and would vote for reunion with the mother country. It does not believe that the end justifies the means, but is against free elections in Cyprus because we and the British want to keep the island as a military and naval base. It constantly emphasizes devotion to the Christian religion, but looks the other way when Turkish mobs sack ancient churches which had survived centuries of bloody struggle. (The Turks had been encouraged by the British to intervene in the Cyprus dispute so that Britain could appear to be compelled to stay in possession as mediator between the majority Greeks and the minority Turks.) The State Department believes in freedom of the press and advertises Turkey as a "bastion of democracy" but is silent when Turkish newspapers are suppressed by the government for publishing the Secretary of State's plea for peace between Greece and Turkey. Usually the Secretary of State's messages are heavily larded with references to morality, but his Greek-Turkish statement was carefully drafted not to offend the Turks; it did not distinguish between the aggressor and the victim; it said not one word of sympathy for the Greeks who lost lives and property. Clearly, when moral principles are weighed against military bases, military bases outweigh them.

The Magic of Disarmament: Unlike the *A. F. of L. News Reporter*, which seems to think arms reduction a menace, the latest issue of the *Railway Clerk*, organ of a powerful Railway Brotherhood, publishes an article on the social benefits of disarmament. It says the $2,000,000 cost of a B-47 bomber would be enough to build a 200-bed hospital and that the $200,000,000 required for an aircraft carrier of the Forrestal class would be enough to build a hundred new high schools. The article estimates that if U. S. arms spending were cut back to the level of the years just after World War II, about 10 billion annually, 25 billion a year would be saved. One year's saving, it estimates, would be enough for: 100,000 new school classrooms, 5 billion; four new buildings for every college in the U. S., 6 billion; a 10 percent increase in hospital facilities, 4 billion; and 10,000 miles of new modern high speed highways, 10 billion. "This is the elementary magic of disarmament," the article says. "Disarmament is the magic word that stirs hope everywhere. In this country and in many others people are carrying a crushing burden of armament." The article estimates that the current 35 billion dollar budget is equal to $1,075 a year for every family of five. George M. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks, is an important member of the AFL executive council.

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The Barnet and Gordon Cases: A Challenge to the Newspaper Guild

What Right Has Congress to Police and Investigate the Press?

Melvin L. Barnet, a copy reader for the *New York Times*, and David A. Gordon, a reporter for the *New York Daily News*, were discharged after they told the Senate Internal Security Committee last summer that they were not presently Communists but took the Fifth amendment as to the late 1930s. The Newspaper Guild grievance committees at both papers have voted against fighting these cases through arbitration.

The grievance committees do not have final authority. A membership meeting at the *Times* will vote on the question this week; a similar meeting will already have voted at the *News* by the time this reaches the stands. The unit recommendations will go to the Guild's executive board and later to the representative assembly for final action.

I hope that the Guild will not lag behind the rest of the country at a time when the tide of hysteria is ebbing. Only a few days ago 360 distinguished Americans, including Senator Pat McNamara of Michigan, petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court to invalidate the McCarran Act and the registration order issued by the Subversive Activities Control Board against the Communist Party.

On the anniversary of the Bill of Rights, 83 equally prominent Americans issued an "Open Letter to the American People" demanding an end to infringements of civil liberties. Among them were Jacob Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and A. Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters.

Are They Authorized Agencies?

Among the evils at which these 83 aimed their fire is one which is directly relevant to the Barnet and Gordon cases. They attacked "the arrogation of powers as prosecutors and punitive bodies by some Congressional committees."

At both the *Times* and the *News*, a majority of the grievances committees took the view that Guildsmen have a duty—as the former put it—to "cooperate with authorized Government agencies investigating communism." But are the inquisitorial committees of Congress "authorized agencies" for this purpose? The question has yet to be answered by the Supreme Court.

I would like to call the attention of Guildsmen to a case in point. A few days ago the United Automobile Workers (through its Washington counsel, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., of Americans for Democratic Action), filed an appeal in the Court of Appeals in the Watkins case. John T. Watkins, an organizer for the UAW since 1953, admitted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he had worked closely with the Communists from 1942 to 1947. But he declined as matter of morality and conscience to name others he knew in the Communist party. He was convicted of contempt.

What the UAW has to say in that brief of the Watkins case applies equally to the Barnet and Gordon cases. "When a committee of Congress," the brief says, "determines that a general standard of conduct (past membership in the Communist Party) is reprehensible and seeks to enforce this standard by building a list of persons who engaged in that conduct and then by publicity inflicting upon such persons public scorn and retribution, the Committee is arrogating to itself, in this process of exposure, legislative, executive and judicial functions in derogation of our historic separation of powers."

What If They Had Pleaded The First?

Neither Barnet nor Gordon was accused by his paper of permitting political views, past or present, to interfere with the conduct of his job. Both were merely trying to protect others from the infamy attendant on exposure as past Communists.

To permit men to be discharged for invoking their constitutional rights is to establish a most serious precedent for the future. It is to say that newspapermen must become informers to keep their jobs. Since the Guild membership and leadership (including some of its most violent anti Communists) is full of men who had their attacks of ideological measles in the past, this may some day become a weapon with destructive impact on the Guild itself, and on freedom of the press. For what if Barnet and Gordon had pleaded the First instead of the Fifth?

"I seem to recall," Mr. Gordon wrote to the *News* grievance committee, "that a dozen or so years ago a Washington correspondent of the *Daily News* was accused by the President of the United States of aiding the Nazis in his columns. Yet neither the *Daily News* nor the grievance committee rushed to discharge him or to say that this accusation destroyed his usefulness as a newspaperman on the *News*. Nor did any Senatorial committee call this man to testify at a hearing."

The House Committee on Un-American Activities was then in existence. The country was at war against Nazism. Yet had John O'Donnell been subpoenaed for questioning about his political views and associations, it would have been recognized clearly as an invasion of freedom of the press, an attempt to browbeat a newspaperman for his views. Can't Guildsmen see that the same principle still applies? The First Amendment give Congress no power to police the press, nor to investigate the political purity of newspapermen.

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